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Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 085771
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E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: CSCE

SUBJECT: ASSESSMENT OF BELGRADE MEETING

1. FOLLOWING IS ASSESSMENT OF BELGRADE MEETING PREPARED BY DEPARTMENT FOR DISTRIBUTION TO POLADS. IN PRESENTING PAPER, YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT ASSESSMENTS ARE NECESSARILY PRELIMINARY AND PRESENTED IN HOPE OF STIMULATING DISCUSSION ON IMPORTANT ISSUES EMERGING FROM BELGRADE MEETING AND IDENTIFYING TOPICS WHICH DESERVE FURTHER ALLIANCE CONSIDERATION.
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PAGE 02 STATE 085771

2. THE BELGRADE CSCE MEETING: AN EVALUATION

THE BELGRADE CSCE MEETING WAS AN ALMOST UNIQUE VENTURE

IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN THAT ITS MAJOR TASK WAS TO

REVIEW EXPERIENCE WITH AN EXISTING AGREEMENT RATHER THAN

TO NEGOTIATE A NEW ONE. AS THE FIRST FOLLOW-UP MEETING

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

AFTER SIGNATURE OF THE FINAL ACT, IT LACKED MAJOR PRECEDENT
AGAINST WHICH WESTERN NEGOTIATING STRATEGY OR THE RESULTS
OF THE MEETING COULD BE JUDGED. GIVEN THE CONTINUED
HIGH LEVEL OF PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE HELSINKI PROCESS
AND THE IMPORTANCE OF CSCE TO OVERALL DEVELOPMENT OF
EAST-WEST RELATIONS, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO REVIEW THE
BELGRADE EXPERIENCE CAREFULLY TO ENSURE MAXIMUM BENEFITS
TO WESTERN INTERESTS IN THE PERIOD LEADING UP TO AND
INCLUDING MADRID.

3. RESULTS OF THE MEETING

FROM THE WESTERN VIEW POINT, THE THREE MOST IMPORTANT

RESULTS OF THE BELGRADE MEETING WERE:

1) THE SUCCESSFUL REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL
ACT IN ALL OF ITS ASPECTS, INCLUDING HUMAN RIGHTS.

2) MAINTENANCE OF OVERALL UNITY AMONG WESTERN PARTICI-
PANTS AND GOOD WORKING RELATIONS WITH NEUTRAL/NONALIGNED
STATES.

3) AGREEMENT ON A FINAL DOCUMENT WHICH PROVIDED FOR
CONTINUATION OF THE CSCE PROCESS AND CONTAINED
REAFFIRMATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF CSCE COMMITMENTS.

4. REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTAT ON.

THE IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT AND
SUCCESSFUL WESTERN OBJECTIVE AT BELGRADE. IN LIGHT OF
PUBLIC ATTENTION PAID TO THE EASTERN IMPLEMENTATION
RECORD IN THE MONTHS BEFORE BELGRADE, THE WESTERN POSITION

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Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

AND THE CREDIBILITY OF THE ENTIRE CSCE PROCESS WOULD
HAVE BEEN DAMAGED IF A DETAILED REVIEW HAD NOT BEEN
CONDUCTED. AS CARRIED OUT BY THE WEST, THE IMPLEMENTA-
TION REVIEW ESTABLISHED THE CREDIBILITY OF THE CSCE
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PROCESS AS A FRAMEWORK FOR DISCUSSION OF MAJOR EAST-WEST
ISSUES, PARTICULARLY THE RIGHTS IN PRINCIPLE SEVEN AND
OBLIGATIONS OF GOVERNMENTS TO RESPECT THOSE RIGHTS. IT
ALSO MADE CLEAR THAT THE WEST WOULD EXPECT CSCE
SIGNATORIES TO WORK IN GOOD FAITH TO FULFILL COMMITMENTS
UNDERTAKEN IN THE FINAL ACT, AND ESTABLISHED A BASIS
FOR CONTINUED EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE PRACTICAL IMPROVEMENTS
IN AREAS COVERED BY THE FINAL ACT.

5. DESPITE ITS SUCCESS, THE IMPLEMENTATION REVIEWAS
EXPECTED, DID NOT PRODUCE A GENUINE, CONSTRUCTIVE
DIALOGUE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST OR ELICIT EASTERN DIS-
CUSSION OF CERTAIN TOPICS. THE PROSPECT OF A FURTHER
REVIEW AT MADRID, HOWEVER, WILL BE ONE OF THE MAIN
TOOLS AVAILABLE TO THE WEST TO MOTIVATE IMPROVED EASTERN
IMPLEMENTATION, ESPECIALLY ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES IN
BASKET THREE AND PRINCIPLE SEVEN. IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN
BELGRADE AND MADRID, THE ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE EFFORTS
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TO ENGAGE EASTERN STATES IN CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION OF
IMPLEMENTATION EFFORTS, WHILE MAKING CLEAR THAT THE LEVEL
OF GOOD FAITH SHOWN IS LIKELY TO SET THE TONE AND CONTENT

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Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

OF THE REVIEW AT MADRID.

6. WESTERN UNITY:

WESTERN UNITY AGAIN PROVED INVALUABLE AT BELGRADE AS A BASIS FOR PROMOTION AND PROTECTION OF WESTERN INTERESTS. THE NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES SHOWED STRONG SUPPORT FOR WESTERN OBJECTIVES, AND THE CLOSE WORKING RELATION-SHIP BETWEEN THE WEST AND THE NNA WAS ONE OF THE MAJOR FACTORS STRENGTHENING THE WESTERN POSITION.

7. HOWEVER, THE NNA COUNTRIES AT BELGRADE APPEARED AT TIMES TO BE MORE INTERESTED THAN THE ALLIES IN ACCEPTING A GENERAL FINAL DOCUMENT AND AT TIMES IN TEMPORIZING ON IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES WITH THE EAST IN ORDER TO OBTAIN CONCRETE PROGRESS ON THEIR SPECIFIC INTERESTS. IN THE PERIOD LEADING UP TO MADRID, THE WEST SHOULD CONSULT CLOSELY WITH NNA COUNTRIES TO IDENTIFY MORE CLEARLY THE

AREAS WHERE PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE, BUT ALSO TO SEEK SUPPORT ON IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES. AN AREA OF SPECIAL CONCERN TO THE NNAS IS CBMS. THE ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE TO REFINE THEIR POSITION ON THIS SUBJECT IN PREPARATION FOR THE MADRID MEETING. GAINING CONTINUED SUPPORT OF THE NNA STATES IS OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO THE ALLIES, AND WE SHOULD EXAMINE IN DETAIL BOTH THEIR NEEDS AND THE POSSIBILITIES OF MEETING THEM, WHILE SEEKING OUR OWN GOALS IN TERMS OF SUPPORT FOR IMPLEMENTATION.

8. NATO CONSULTATIONS IN REGARD TO BELGRADE FUNCTIONED

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WELL IN DIFFERING GROUPS AND ON MANY LEVELS TO THE

BENEFIT OF ALL PARTICIPANTS. WHILE NOT ALL ALLIES AGREED

ON A COMMON APPROACH AT THE OUTSET, THE PROCESS OF

CONSULTATION HIGHLIGHTED UNDERLYING COMMON OBJECTIVES

AND LED TO A LARGE MEASURE OF AGREEMENT ON TACTICS.

9. CONCLUDING DOCUMENT:

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FROM THE WESTERN VIEWPOINT, THE ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENT

FOR ANY DOCUMENT EMERGING FROM BELGRADE WAS THAT OF

BALANCE. A SUBSTANTIVE DOCUMENT WHICH DOWNGRADED HUMAN

RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN ISSUES WOULD HAVE LEGITIMIZED

EASTERN INTERPRETATION OF THE FINAL ACT AND POSED A

THREAT TO CSCE CREDIBILITY. THE ALLIES THUS CORRECTLY

REJECTED UNBALANCED EASTERN TEXTS OF THE CONCLUDING

DOCUMENT WHILE DEMONSTRATING, THROUGH THEIR EFFORTS IN

THE INFORMAL CONTACT GROUPS AND IN THEIR POSITION ON

THE FEBRUARY 1ST NNA TEXT, THAT THEY WERE ANXIOUS TO

NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY, GIVEN THE PROPER BASIS.

10. ALTHOUGH THE DOCUMENT FINALLY AGREED UPON IS OFTEN

REFERRED TO AS NONSUBSTANTIVE, IT CONTAINS POSITIVE

FEATURES WHICH NEED NOT HAVE BEEN INCLUDED IN A MINIMAL

COMMUNIQUE. THUS, IN ADDITION TO PROVIDING FOR FURTHER

CSCE FOLLOW-UP, THE DOCUMENT:

-- RECOMMITS ALL STATES, INCLUDING THOSE IN THE EAST,

TO IMPLEMENTING FULLY ALL PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT;

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-- RECOGNIZES TACITLY THE PROPRIETY OF THE REVIEW OF

IMPLEMENTATION AS A CONTRIBUTION QUOTE IN ITSELF UNQUOTE

TOWARD THE AIMS OF THE CSCE;

-- RECOGNIZES THAT DIFFERENT VIEWS WERE EXPRESSED ON THE

LEVEL OF CSCE IMPLEMENTATION; AND

-- RECOGNIZES THAT CSCE IMPLEMENTATION IS QUOTE

ESSENTIAL FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE. UNQUOTE.

11. WESTERN TACTICS

WHILE ALLIED CONSULTATIONS PROCEEDED EFFECTIVELY AT

BELGRADE, THE DIFFICULTY OF MAKING MAJOR TACTICAL

DECISIONS IN THE MIDST OF FAST-MOVING NEGOTIATIONS

EMPHASIZED THE NEED FOR ADVANCED TACTICAL PLANNING.

GIVEN INCREASED WESTERN EXPERIENCE FOLLOWING BELGRADE,

THE ALLIES SHOULD CONSIDER WHETHER EVEN MORE DETAILED

PLANNING, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO THE ESSENTIAL

OBJECTIVES FOR THE OUTCOME OF THE MEETING, WOULD BE

ADVISABLE FOR MADRID AND FOR THE THREE EXPERTS'
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MEETINGS TO BE HELD THIS YEAR AND NEXT.

12. THE ALLIES MIGHT ALSO CONSIDER WHETHER A DIFFERENT

APPROACH TO NEW PROPOSALS SHOULD BE FOLLOWED AT MADRID.

WHILE WESTERN PROPOSALS AT BELGRADE EFFECTIVELY SUPPLE-

MENTED THE IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW, THE ALLIES TABLED AN

OVERLY-LARGE NUMBER OF PROPOSALS. A MORE LIMITED

NUMBER OF CAREFULLY-CONSIDERED PROPOSALS MIGHT PROVE

MORE EFFECTIVE IN FOCUSING WESTERN EFFORTS AND IN

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GAINING EASTERN ACCEPTANCE, ALTHOUGH A NUMBER SHOULD

STILL BE INCLUDED TO HIGHLIGHT WESTERN INTERESTS EVEN

IF THEY ARE NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE EAST. IN THIS REGARD,

THE ALLIES MIGHT CONSIDER INCLUSION OF NEW PROPOSALS IN

BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH EASTERN COUNTRIES PRIOR TO

MADRID.

13. FACTUAL PREPARATIONS BY THE NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF

WERE OF HIGH QUALITY AND THE INFORMATION ASSEMBLED

PROVED ESPECIALLY USEFUL DURING THE REVIEW OF

IMPLEMENTATION.

14. EASTERN TACTICS

THE EAST APPROACHED BELGRADE IN A DEFENSIVE POSTURE AND

WARY OF THE LIKELIHOOD THAT ITS IMPLEMENTATION RECORD

WOULD GIVE RISE TO CRITICISM. THE MAJOR EASTERN

OBJECTIVE WAS THUS DAMAGE-LIMITATION THROUGH A SHORT AND

GENERALIZED MEETING AND A DOCUMENT CONTAINING NO

FURTHER COMMITMENTS ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES. THE EAST

FAILED IN THE FIRST OBJECTIVE AND WAS ONLY PARTLY

SUCCESSFUL IN THE SECOND.

15. SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF EASTERN PERFORMANCE DESERVE

FURTHER CONSIDERATION:

-- THROUGH THEIR ESSENTIALLY DEFENSIVE STRATEGY, THE

SOVIETS DEMONSTRATED THAT WHILE THEY DID NOT WISH THE

BELGRADE MEETING TO ESTABLISH NEW PRECEDENTS WHICH COULD

BE USED AGAINST THEM IN THE FUTURE, THEY ALSO DID NOT

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WANT THE MEETING TO DEVELOP INTO A CONFRONTATION WHICH

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PAGE 11 STATE 085771

COULD END THE ENTIRE CSCE PROCESS. SOVIET COMMITMENT

TO THE CSCE PROCESS AS A MEANS OF FURTHERING SPECIFIC

LONG-TERM EASTERN INTERESTS IN EUROPE APPEARS TO REMAIN

STRONG. IN PARTICULAR, THE SOVIET THRESHOLD OF TOLERANCE

TO A THOROUGH REVIEW OF HUMAN RIGHTS IMPLEMENTATION

PROVED TO BE HIGHER THAN MANY WESTERN OBSERVERS HAD

PREDICTED.

-- THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DIFFERENTIATION AMONG THE

APPROACHES OF INDIVIDUAL EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES.

AS USUAL, THE ROMANIANS FOLLOWED THEIR OWN STRATEGY. THE

POLES AND THE HUNGARIANS APPEARED ALSO TO DIFFER ON

SOME DETAILS FROM THE SOVIET UNION. THE INTEREST OF

ALL EASTERN EUROPEAN PARTICIPANTS IN CONTINUATION OF

THE PROCESS APPEARED TO BE HIGH.

-- DURING THE IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW, EASTERN COUNTRIES

APPEARED GENUINELY SURPRISED BY THE STRONG AND UNIFIED

CONCERN OF THE WESTERN AND SEVERAL NNA PARTICIPANTS

REGARDING THEIR PERFORMANCE. THEY VACILLATED BETWEEN

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PAGE 12 STATE 085771

COUNTER-CRITICISM AND CHARGES OF INTERFERENCE IN

INTERNAL AFFAIRS, BUT COULD NOT STIFLE A DETAILED

REVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION RECORD.

-- IN THE AREA OF NEW PROPOSALS, THE SOVIET UNION

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SHOWED LITTLE REAL INTEREST AND TABLED PROPOSALS

PRIMARILY TO MATCH THE WEST. AS A RESULT, THE SOVIET

DRAFT CONCLUDING DOCUMENT AWKWARDLY IGNORED EVEN SOME

EASTERN PROPOSALS WHICH THE WEST HAD INDICATED MIGHT

BE ACCEPTABLE. THIS STRATEGY CLEARLY DISPLEASED SOME

EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. THIS AGAIN SUGGESTS THAT

A DISCUSSION OF SOME OF THE POSSIBILITIES FOR CONCRETE

NEW PROPOSALS MIGHT BE USEFUL WITH EASTERN COUNTRIES

IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN BELGRADE AND MADRID.

-- THE SOVIETS EVIDENCED NO INTEREST IN CONCRETE PROGRESS

ON CBMS. THE SO-CALLED QUOTE BREZHNEV PLAN UNQUOTE

INTRODUCED IN BELGRADE APPEARED TO BE DESIGNED MORE TO

DRAW ATTENTION FROM BASKET THREE ISSUES THAN TO PROVIDE
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A BASIS FOR REAL NEGOTIATION. NEVERTHELESS, CBMS CON-

TINUED TO BE OF INTEREST TO MANY PARTICIPANTS, ESPECIALLY

THE NNAS, AND IT IS LIKELY THAT THE SOVIETS WILL PUSH

THEIR IDEAS IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE TWO MEETINGS.

16. FOLLOW-UP

THE GENERAL EMBARRASSMENT SUFFERED BY THE EAST AT

BELGRADE AND THE NEGOTIATION OF THE FOLLOW-UP SUGGEST

THAT THE SOVIETS MAY SEEK TO ALTER THE MODALITIES OF

THE MADRID MEETING, EITHER THROUGH INTRODUCTION OF A

QUOTE POLITICAL CONCEPT UNQUOTE OR THROUGH OTHER AMEND-

MENTS TO YELLOW BOOK PROCEDURES. THE ALLIES WILL HAVE

TO GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION PRIOR TO THE MADRID

PREPARATORY MEETING TO WHAT STRUCTURAL AND PROCEDURAL

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Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

CHANGES MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE, OR EVEN DESIRABLE. WHILE

THE BELGRADE MODEL SHOULD NOT BE IMMUNE TO NECESSARY

MODIFICATION, THE TWIN OBJECTIVES OF BELGRADE -- A

THOROUGH IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW AND CONSIDERATION OF NEW

PROPOSALS -- BOTH REMAIN COMPATIBLE AND IMPORTANT TO
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PAGE 14 STATE 085771

THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CSCE.

17. FUTURE OF THE CSCE PROCESS

THE BELGRADE MEETING HAS REAFFIRMED CSCE AS AN IMPORTANT

FACTOR IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE

FOLLOW-UP MEETINGS WILL BE USED BY ALL PARTICIPANTS TO

CLARIFY THEIR INTERESTS AS THEY RELATE TO THE CSCE

PROCESS AND TO PREPARE FOR THE DISCUSSION IN MADRID.

DURING THIS PERIOD, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR THE WEST

TO ENGAGE THE EAST AND THE NNAS ON MANY LEVELS TO

ENSURE THAT THE INITIATIVE ON CSCE ISSUES IS NOT LOST,

ESPECIALLY IN THE WEST'S PRESSING FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF

THE FINAL ACT. INCREASED ATTENTION SHOULD BE PAID TO

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CSCE AND OTHER ONGOING EAST-

WEST ISSUES, IN ORDER TO MAKE SURE THAT OVERALL WESTERN

STRATEGY IS COMPATIBLE IN ALL ASPECTS. IT WILL ALSO BE

IMPORTANT TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THE BASIC PREMISE OF

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PAGE 15 STATE 085771

THE WESTERN NEGOTIATING POSITION IN BELGRADE, I.E., THAT

HUMANITARIAN ISSUES AND HUMAN RIGHTS ARE A LEGITIMATE

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ASPECT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS, IS REINFORCED IN THE

INTERIM PERIOD. WE SHOULD REINFORCE THIS CONCEPT

WHENEVER POSSIBLE IN ORDER: (A) TO BUILD PRESSURE FOR

PRACTICAL PROGRESS ON HUMANITARIAN ISSUES AND (B) MAKE

CLEAR THAT THE STRONG POSITION WE ADOPTED AT BELGRADE

WAS MEANT SERIOUSLY AND THAT THE EAST CAN EXPECT THE

SAME APPROACH FROM THE WEST AT MADRID IF EASTERN

IMPLEMENTATION REMAINS POOR.

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20 Mar 2014
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